1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

The only food which the *palol* is altogether forbidden is chillies.

The *palol* wears garments of the kind called *tuni*, of a dark grey material made at Nulturs in the Coimbatore district. They are brought to the *palol* by the Badaga called *tikelfmav*.[1] Each *palol* has two of these garments. One is worn as a loincloth and is called *pòdrshtuni*. It is only worn when definitely engaged in dairy-work and on certain ceremonial occasions, and at other times is kept in the outer room of the dairy. The other garment is called *kubuntuni*, and is worn like the ordinary cloak, but always with the right arm out (*kevenarut*). It is worn when not engaged on sacred business, and on a few occasions is worn together with the *pòdrshtuni*. The small perineal cloth ordinarily called *kuvn* is made of the same material as the *tuni* and is called *kagurs* at the *ti*, while the string which passes round the waist and holds the *kagurs* in place is called *kwainur* or *kwoinur*.

I was told that the *palol* should never cut his hair or his nails while he is in office.

If a *palol* has held office for eighteen years without a break, he performs a special ceremony. The essential feature of this ceremony is that the *palol* has intercourse in the daytime with a girl or young woman who must belong to the Tartharol. The woman is chosen by the *palol* and the matter is arranged by the clan to which the *ti* belongs. On the appointed day the woman is brought to a village near the dairy at which the *palol* is living; if he is at Mòdr, for instance, the woman will come to the adjacent village of Perththo. She must bathe carefully and be adorned with all possible ornaments and fine clothing. After the work of the morning is over, the *palol* gives rice and milk to the *kaltmokh* and tells him to have food ready for him when he returns at night. He then goes covered with his *kubuntuni* to a wood near the village, where the woman will be awaiting him. Later the woman returns to the village and the *palol* remains in the

[1] According to Breeks (p. 14) these garments are made by the Badagas of Jakaneri. This may be correct, but it is much more probable that they are procured through the Badagas living in this village.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

Another day the palol told Kwoto to pour out the re-

mainder of the buttermilk at the appointed place. Instead of doing this Kwoto poured it into the stream, and the buttermilk so poured became a god called Mòraman, who sends smallpox.[1] Then the *palol* became very angry and said he would no longer be *palol*, if he had to keep such a *kaltmokh*. Then Kwoto revealed to the *palol* and to the real *kaltmokh* that he was a god, and gave them a medicine called *mûvòmad*, which has the property that anyone who takes it will never grow old.

After giving *mûvòmad* to the *palol* and *kaltmokh*, Kwoto sent them into the air, together with the dairy and the buffaloes and everything belonging to the *ti*, and they all went in the air to Kupars, near Pan; they stayed there for some time and then disappeared, and now nothing can be seen of them, but if people go near Kupars, they hear the voices of the *palol* and *kaltmokh* when they are talking to one another.

Since that time the people of Keradr have been without a *ti*.

Another story in which Kwoto played a prominent part is connected with the custom of eating flesh. I received several versions of this story and was unable to satisfy myself which was correct.

According to one account Kwoto once went to Mitur in the Wainad, where Kurumbas live. Kwoto played with these people, and one day caught and killed a wild buffalo. He said to the Kurumbas, "I have killed this buffalo; let us eat its flesh"; and he gave to each a portion. The Kurumbas ate their portions, but Kwoto only pretended to eat; he held out his *putkuli* in front of him and instead of eating dropped his portions inside the cloak. When the Kurumbas had finished, Kwoto got up and all saw on the place where he had been sitting the flesh which he had pretended to eat. Then the Kurumbas were angry and went to beat Kwoto with sticks, asking why he had not eaten the flesh, and they insisted that Kwoto should eat some of it. Kwoto ran away, and when the Kurumbas pursued him he

[1] The Hindu god who sends smallpox is Mari or Mariaman. The Toda name for buttermilk is *mòr*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

173 177 262 773 776 pretended that he was lame and consented to eat some of the flesh of the buffalo. He also told them that he was a god and said that he would dance before them, and did so like a lame man. He told the Kurumbas that whenever he came in the future, he would dance to the Kurumbas first and then to the Todas; and now the Kwoto *teuol*, or diviner (see Chap. XII), when he dances, does so first to the Kurumbas, and when he dances before them he does so as if he were lame.

After this Kwoto disappeared and since that time has not been seen. He is said to live in a temple at Mitur, but "wherever there is a god, there also is Kwoto, or Meilitars."

According to another account, this story was told of the people called Panins (Panyas), but in this version Kurumbas were also said to be present, though it was the Panins who were made to eat the flesh.

According to a third account, obtained, however, from an untrustworthy informant, Kwoto practised this deception on the gods themselves, and made them eat the flesh of a calf while only pretending to eat himself. This was said to have been the starting-point of the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony, and Kwoto was said to have killed the calf with the same formalities as are now used in this ceremony. All other Todas strenuously denied that Kwoto made the gods eat flesh. There was, however, so much reticence about the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony and its history, that I am not confident that Kwoto was not in some way connected with its origin, and that the version of my untrustworthy informant may in this case have been correct.

Other Gods

773 776 There are very many other deities. Of the following I can give little more than the names.

Atiato is the *nòdrodchi* of the Kwòdrdoni clan and also of Pedrkars. He lives near the chief villages of these clans, and has a temple of which the priest is said to be an Irula, and Todas sometimes give to this god offerings of clarified butter.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 the second prayer of the village dairy, being offered when
778 shutting up the buffaloes for the night.

The increasing sanctity of the different grades of dairy
788 is shown very clearly by the increasing stringency in the rules
784 of conduct of the dairyman. The *tarvalikartmokh* may sleep
in the living hut on any night in the week, and there are no
793 restrictions on his intercourse with women. The *kudrpalikart-mokh* may only sleep in the hut on Sundays, Wednesdays and Saturdays, and is prohibited from intercourse with Teivali women. The *wursol* is limited to two nights, Sunday and Wednesday, and, though himself a Teivali man, is prohibited from intercourse with Teivali women. The *kugvalikartmokh* has similar restrictions, but the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs must avoid women altogether, and this is almost certainly the case with the *palol* also.

● [262] The *tarvalikartmokh* takes his buttermilk and food without any ceremony. The *kudrpalikartmokh* must hold his food in his hands throughout his meal and must not put it on the ground.

In the case of the *wursol* we meet first with the ceremonial drinking of buttermilk, which must in this case be poured into the leaf-cup from the vessel called *ertatpun*. The *kugvalikart-mokh* drinks buttermilk sitting on the seat outside his dairy and pours from the *ertatpun*, drinking three times only and saying "*Oñ*" each time.

The *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs has to take his food with very special precautions. He sits on the wall of his dairy and his hand must not touch his mouth nor the leaf-cup his lips. At the *ti* the drinking of buttermilk has become a definite ceremony in which the *kaltmokh* pours out drink for the *palol* with prescribed formulæ, but, strangely enough, the *palol* does not suffer from the same restrictions against touching his mouth as the *pohkartpol* of Kanòdrs, though the latter holds an office which in most ways is distinctly less sacred than that of the *palol*.

234 The clothing of each grade is also regulated. Perhaps the
292 most important feature here is the use of the garments called
793 *tuni*. These are made of dark grey cloth of a quite different
178 kind from that of the ordinary clothes worn by the Todas.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

171 coagulate and the curd is churned. The butter so obtained
234 differs from that of European countries in containing the proteid as well as the fat constituents of milk. This butter is then clarified, but in this respect there is an important difference between the ordinary Hindu procedure and that of the Todas. The usual Hindu method is to heat slowly over a fire without the addition of any other substance. The [262] Todas add grain or rice to the butter before clarification, and this sinks to the bottom of the vessel and forms a substance called by the Todas *al*, which is one of their chief foods. This deposit of grain or rice will carry down with it some, possibly all, of the proteid constituents, and the *al* will, therefore, be a nourishing food.

The only other detail in which the Toda procedure is peculiar[1] is in the addition of buttermilk from a previous churning to the newly-drawn milk, the buttermilk or *pep* being put into the vessel before milking. This addition probably hastens the process of coagulation, but its chief interest is derived from the fact that it has become the nucleus of some of the most interesting features of the dairy ceremonial.

234 This addition of buttermilk seems to be regarded as forming
415 a thread of continuity in the dairy ritual, and the ceremony of
778 *pepkaricha*, or making new *pep*, is held whenever this con-
788 tinuity is broken. The *pep* is connected with a dairy vessel of the kind called *mu*, which is buried in the buffalo pen, and if any evil befalls the *mu*, it is held to be a cause for making new *pep*—*i.e.*, the usual course of the dairy procedure will be interrupted, in some cases for months.

The buried dairy vessel seems to be linked in some mysterious way with the fortunes of the dairy, and especially with the buttermilk which forms the element of continuity in the dairy procedure. The buried dairy vessel, or *mu*, is not one which is now generally used to hold buttermilk. There are two kinds of *mu* in the dairy, one which contains the butter added during the churning, while the other is used,

[1] It is an Indian practice to add sour buttermilk to the milk to promote coagulation, but this is usually done after heating the milk. It is possible that in some parts of India it may be added to the milk before or immediately after it is drawn.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

last exclamation being the sound which is ordinarily uttered when calling a calf. 782 796

When the flesh is sufficiently roasted the *palikartmokh* eats the *tiitmlis*, while the others present may eat any portion. When enough has been eaten, the remainder of the cooked flesh is carried to the village. The *mogâl*, *agelv*, *mad*, and *kwelthkh* are carried to the dairy by the *palikartmokh* and kept there. The flesh of these parts is eaten by the dairyman or by other men, but may on no account be eaten by a woman. The other parts are taken to the hut and given into the keeping of the women, and the flesh of these parts can be eaten by any one—man, woman, or child. Butter is often put on the flesh before it is eaten. 262

The Sacrifice at the Ti

The sacrifice at the *ti* is called *ernudrtipimi*, and is performed at every *ti* three times in the year. The first occasion is about fifteen days after the ceremony of *teutiitusthchi* in October. The second occasion is about January, when the buffaloes of the *ti* migrate to the Kundahs or elsewhere for the dry season. The third occasion is after the ceremony of giving salt, which is known as *kòrup* (see p. 175). The ceremony may take place at any *ti mad* except Anto. 234 782 796

The appointed days are Sunday and Wednesday. On the day before the ceremony wood is taken by the *palol* and *kaltmokh* to the sacrificial spot, called *ernkar* as at the village. At Mòdr the wood in which the sacrifice takes place is called Turikipül.

The sacrifice may be performed either in the morning or evening, and takes place, in either case, before *kaizhvatiti*, the ceremonial pouring of buttermilk. This means that the sacrifice takes place during and not after the dairy ceremonial, and thus forms part of the dairy ritual. Each *palol* wears the *pòdrshtuni*, while the *kaltmokh* is naked throughout except for the *kuvn*. The *kaltmokh* arranges the firewood and the chief *palol* (at the Nòdrs *ti*, the *ti palol*) lights the wood with fire brought from his dairy. The calf is then killed and cut up with exactly the same ritual as in the village ceremony.

1 [of a young male calf, sacrificed during the Erkumptthpimi Ceremony — Analyst]

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

234 782 796 262 After the flesh has been placed round the fire both the *palol* return to their dairies, leaving the *kaltmokh* at the *ernkar* to look after the roasting flesh. Each *palol* prays as usual and takes buttermilk without the aid of the *kaltmokh*, and then returns to the *ernkar*, the chief *palol* taking butter with him. At the place of the sacrifice the *palol* eats the *tütmfis* only, first putting it, together with butter, on leaves of *kakud*, from which he eats. The *kaltmokh* eats part of the liver at the *ernkar*, and is not allowed to touch any other part of the animal unless given to him by the *palol*. The *mogâl*, *agelv*, *mad*, and *kwelthkh* are then carried by the *palol* to the dairy where they are kept. They are eaten only by the *palol* and *kaltmokh*. Some parts are carried by the *kaltmokh* to the sleeping-hut, and are eaten by the *kaltmokh* and *mòrol*; other parts are taken to the outskirts of the *ti mad* and given to any Todas who may visit the dairy.

234 In connexion with the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony, I was told of a device employed to induce the mother of the sacrificed calf to continue suckling after her offspring has been killed. Several days before the sacrifice the calf to be sacrificed and a female calf of about the same age are shut up together in the *kush*, or small structure in which young calves are kept. On the floor of the *kush* are spread some of the grass called *nark*[1] and some leaves of the *kiars*[2] tree. When these have been broken up and mixed with earth by the trampling of the calves, a handful of the mixture, together with milk, is rubbed on the backs of both calves, and this is repeated for three or four days. The object is that the mother shall not know which is her own calf, and shall suckle both, and continue to suckle the female calf when her own has been taken away. During the days on which the calves are shut up together the dairyman should keep *pon*, *i.e.*, he should not sell or give away any of the produce of the dairy.

If this device is not employed or is unsuccessful the skin of the sacrificed calf is placed on the back of a female calf, and in this way the mother may be induced to suckle the latter.

[1] *Andropogon Schænanthus*, a strongly-scented grass.

[2] ? *Kiaa*.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

825 As we have seen (p. 417), there is a belief that a man who fails in the performance of certain sacred duties may be killed by a tiger, but the Todas do not appear to fear this animal except on behalf of their buffaloes, and I could only learn of one case in which a Toda had been killed, and as his name was not known it must have occurred very long ago, or may have been altogether mythical.

The Jackal.—I was told by my interpreter that he had seen the Todas saluting a jackal, but I did not hear of any beliefs associated with the practice.

825 *The Sambhar.*—The most interesting point in connexion ● 262 with this animal is the fact that the Todas are undoubtedly 194 permitted to eat its flesh. Kutadri, who was most scrupulous in his obedience to the customs of his people, had no reluctance in eating sambhar flesh, and when he had fallen ill soon after, he never thought of ascribing his illness to what was probably its real cause, which shows clearly that there could have been no idea that he had done anything forbidden or unorthodox.

The fact that the Todas may eat the flesh of the sambhar while taking that of no other animal, except ceremonially, might well be looked upon as an indication that there may at one time have been totemic restrictions on food. In their earlier homes, before they reached the Nilgiri Hills, it is probable that the sambhar was an unknown animal, and could not therefore have been a totem. Consequently, when they came to the Nilgiris, they would have found there an animal on the eating of the flesh of which there were no restrictions, and the absence of restriction would, on this hypothesis, have continued to the present day. The eating of sambhar flesh would be the proverbial exception that proves the rule.

[224] It seems to me possible, however, that there is a different reason for the absence of any prohibition. The Todas have no weapons with which they could kill a sambhar, and if this animal is ever killed by Kotas or Kurumbas, the mere fact that it had been killed by these people would probably be a sufficient reason why the Todas should not eat its flesh.

It is possible that it is only since the advent of Europeans

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02)1906 Toda

174 to the Nilgiris, and the extensive slaughter of sambhar which
262 followed it, that the Todas have thought of eating the flesh of
825 this animal, and as no prohibition against the eating of its flesh has been handed down to them, they have no reluctance in satisfying in this way the liking for animal food which the *erkumptthpimi* ceremony keeps in existence, if it does not actually stimulate it.

231 *The Cat.*—This animal, which is called *koti* or *kwoti*, is
825 domesticated by the Todas. The cat is mentioned in the legend of the tiger recorded in this section, and the earliest writers on the Todas speak of them as keeping these animals. I have seen them on the walls of the dairies, and believe that they are allowed to go wherever they please. The only occasion on which they come into ceremonial is at the *erkumptthpimi* sacrifice, where the spleen is specially put aside to be given to the cat, and is on this account called *kwotinerûf*.

The dog occurs in the story of Kwoten and several other animals are mentioned in the prayers and incantations, chiefly as sources of danger to the buffaloes. In the incantation for the relief of headache given on p. 265, the names of many animals are uttered, probably with the intention that their heads may acquire the pain which is being charmed away from the head of the sufferer.

Trees and Plants

778 The most sacred tree of the Todas is undoubtedly the *tudr*
824 (Fig. 58). This name is given by the Todas to two species, *Meliosma pungens* and *M. wightii*, the two trees resembling one another closely.

The bark is largely used in the dairy ceremonial, and especially in the ordination ceremonies of the *palol* and other dairymen drawn from the Teivaliol and Melgarsol. Its use is especially connected with the people of these sections of the Toda community, but the rest of the Tartharol undergo a ceremony at the second funeral in which *tudr* is used, and this was said to have the purpose that every Toda should be purified with *tudr* before he enters on the future life.

A log and leaves of *tudr* are also used in the ceremony of

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

FOOD

262 272 The chief foods are milk, buttermilk, ghi, grain, rice, and sugar. The chief drink is buttermilk, and milk is used chiefly when boiled with rice or grain.

252 262 In clarifying their butter the Todas add some grain or rice, and this forms a sediment on the bottom of the cooking vessel which is called *al*, which is the chief food of the dairymen, and it is probably also used largely as a food in ordinary life.

262 437 A list of various herbs, fruits, &c., eaten by the Todas is given by Mr. Thurston.[1] There is very little doubt that at one time these were used much more largely than at present, when the grain provided by the Badagas is supplemented by rice and grain bought in the bazaar. The Todas have a tradition of a time when they lived chiefly on roots, herbs, fruits and honey, and the importance of honey comes out in several of their legends.

252 262 A much prized substance called *patcherski* is made from *samai* grain (*Panicum miliare*), which is roasted and pounded so as to get rid of the husk. It is used in the preparation of a food which is eaten on all the chief ceremonial occasions. When they prepare it the Todas say "*ashkkartpimi*," and this verbal form is used as the name of the food. In making *ashkkartpimi*, *patcherski* is put into a basket (*tòdri*) which has been carefully cleansed by rubbing it all over with dried buffalo-dung. Buttermilk and jaggery are added and the whole mixed together and rolled into balls, each about as large as a cricket ball. When eating, a hole is made in the ball into which ghi and butter, sometimes honey, are poured, and then the hole is covered with rice.[2] A man will usually eat two of these balls at a feast, but a greedy man may manage three or four. 261

264 754 The Todas do not like others to see them eating, and if this happens, the same consequences may ensue as are produced by the evil eye.

[1] *Bulletin*, vol. iv., p. 16.

[2] *Ashk* is one of the Toda words for rice, and the name of the food is therefore derived from this substance.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAPTER VIII.

FOOD.

Diet—Kûtu—Badaga and Kota Neighbours prey on the Todas—Todas give away valuable Property—Not flesh eaters—Ceremony of eating Buffalo flesh—Don't drink Spirits—Children's Food—Family Meals—Grace before Meat—No Weapons of the Chase—No variety of Live Stock.

CHAP. VIII.

524 526 578 411 204 THE Todas have no sports or games, except the innocent tip cat, corresponding in its play very much with our boys' game of rounders. No violent exercise. No means of settling disputes by scientific personal conflict, as in wrestling, fencing or boxing. Nothing in fact pointing to natural turbulence of character and surplus energy. They wear no weapons of offence or defence. They do not even hunt, either, for the sake of providing themselves with food, or for the pleasure of the chase.

241 They do not attempt to till the ground.

234 262 177 262 457 439 427 The products of the buffalo form the main staple of Toda diet. No doubt, at some time or another, they depended upon that animal more than they do now; in a period when they were isolated from contact with agricultural races. Now they are well supplied with the ordinary cereals of the country, as rice, wheat, barley, varieties of the pea, millet and other small grain, also sugar, salt, and tobacco; all of which items are, and for many generations have been, either purchased from the surrounding tribes by the barter or sale of their own surplus nei, or obtained by the levy from their neighbours,

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

the Badaga[1] tribe, of kûtu,[2] or tribute due to them as lords of the soil. This kûtu, which implies a permission to the Badagas to cultivate the land, is said[3] to be a certain portion of the produce, varying from $\frac{1}{10}$ to $\frac{1}{4}$, and shows that the Todas are the earliest *existing* race occupying the plateau of the Nilagiri Mountains.

Each Toda Mand has a claim on certain Badaga villages for their kûtu. Members of each family of the Mand go out in turn on a begging expedition to the village from which it is entitled to draw for support. And as no very accurate accounts are kept, either of the amount of kûtu due in any individual year, or of the quantity of grain which has already been supplied, this foraging stands with the Toda in lieu of sport, in so far as the uncertainty of the results is concerned; it being to the interest of the Badagas to postpone and shirk payment of grain as long as possible: whilst on the other hand, the state of the Toda stores, and his natural persistency combined, are urging him on to repeat the visits for the renewal of his granary. The result being that the Toda gets exactly as much grain as will just satisfy his actual necessities: the Badaga acquires land on cheap terms of rental.

Thus we find that these people have, for several centuries, been in the enjoyment of a considerable variety of nourishing and digestible articles of diet: probably as much in quantity, and nearly as great in variety, as most other races have access to: acquired too with the very smallest amount of personal labour; the mere tending of cattle.

From the fact of the strong similarity which is known to exist between the Toda and Kanarese dialects; and of the Badagas having followed the Todas from the hot plains of

[1] Badaga, a Kanarese people of the Hindu faith.

[2] Kûtu. See Chapter VI., note 7.

[3] This statement was made in a Report, dated 1835, from Mr. J. Sullivan, collector of Koimbatore—in which district the Nilagiris lay—to the Government of Madras, in the Revenue department.

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There is good reason for believing the Todas' assertion;

that they have never at any time eaten the flesh of the *female* buffalo; for they set an immense value and importance on the milk-giver. And there are very strong grounds also for crediting their statement; that they *never made a practice of eating the males*, even though they may have died from accidental causes. In fact they are not, and never were, flesh eaters. Not that they dislike the flavour of meat; for a meal of venison is one of those events so rare and pleasurable as to form a datum in a man's life from which to time all incidents.

262

Yet there is a yearly exceptional occasion on which all the adult males in the village join in the ceremony of killing and eating a very young male calf—seemingly under a month old. They take the animal into the dark recesses of the village wood; where the Vorshâl[4] kills it by blows of a club made of their holy tree,[5] reciting the ejaculatory prayer beginning dânenma, which has been given in full length in the last chapter. Although fire may readily be procured from the Mand, a *sacred* fire is created by the rubbing of sticks: and the flesh, which is then roasted on the embers of certain trees, is eaten only by the men—the presence of women not being permitted.

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796

No information can be had as to the origin or object of this curious and apparently sacrificial ceremony. 'It seems,' writes Mr. Tylor, 'scarcely too much to assert once for all, that meaningless customs must be survivals, that they had a practical or at least ceremonial intention when and where they first arose, but are now fallen into absurdity from having been carried on into a new state of society, where their original sense has been discarded.'[6]

[4] Vorshâl. This is a sacred character, of whom we shall read more in Chapter XVII.

Ve, vé, are Drâvidian roots indicative of *heat*.

Varhis is Sanskrit for *sacrificial fire*.

Virragu is Tamil for *firewood*.

Vrishni is Sanskrit for Agni, *god of fire*.

Vrishâkapi is the same. [POPE.]

[5] For further information regarding the tûde tree, see Chapter XIV.

[6] Tylor, 'Primitive Culture,' vol. i. p. 83.

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CHAP. VIII.

The Todas state it, as a matter of tradition amongst them, that the time was when they subsisted largely upon roots. They are even now partial, amongst others, to that which is known in India by the name of Salup Misri—orchis mascula—a terrestrial orchid which grows in great abundance on these hills. The woods also abound in edible varieties of wild-fruit—pôm—and herbs of sorts.

Intoxicating liquor or drug had never been utilised by these people prior to the arrival of the English. And tobacco is still a luxury.

Infants are nursed by their mothers, as a matter of general habit, for about three years: and it is not uncommon, for them to be still suckling when in the sixth year. Boiled millet or rice warmed in milk is a common article of diet for young children.

As a general rule, food is either eaten uncooked or boiled: but is sometimes baked or parched.

The Todas have no 'caste' prejudices; those Âryan fears of contamination which haunt the population of the plains, requiring that persons not of the precise same grade of life or family, should cook and eat apart: and which place obstacles to the intermarriage of those of different castes, as insuperable as if they were of foreign religions or nationalities.

Their two meals—which the women almost invariably cook—are eaten between the hours of 9 and 10 in the morning, and of 7 and 8 in the evening, in their little houses, but never in the dairy.

Men and women do not eat together at home, but the adult males of the family dine first, then the females. This as a matter of etiquette; which is not however so stringent as to preclude the women from eating before the men if there should be just occasion for them to do so. Children of both sexes have their meals either with the men or with the women. When one comes to consider the smallness of their houses and the primitive nature of their practices, one cannot

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. XIII

234 778 [198]

chief gift of the Gods: and the fountain of all milk. Hence they hold the care and milking of these animals and the charge of the dairy, to be amongst the highest and most respected offices. The buffalo is treated with great kindness, even with a degree of adoration, by the people; scarcely touched with the light wands they carry, but guided and called by a sort of buffalo-language which they understand, and obey with some intelligence.

177 234 262 431

But they give away the young bulls to the Kotas. It has been a question whether or not they ever eat the flesh themselves, and I experienced much difficulty in ascertaining what I now believe to be the truth; that they part with the bulls, because, whilst they will not eat the flesh, they cannot permit them to crowd on land required for the grazing of the cows. That they do not sell them, may no doubt be in part attributable to the uncommercial nature of their dispositions. But I think it also possible that the Badagas and Kotas work on the sense of respect for the animal, which the Todas are known to entertain, to make it a custom not to dispose of the buffalo for money. Although it is certain that no Toda will eat buffalo flesh unless in part of the ceremonial described in Chapter VIII., yet, curiously enough, they do not hesitate to mortgage even the cows to the Badagas, though knowing that in such an act, the chance must always exist of the animal's being seized for the non-fulfilment of the terms of the bond; when of course it would be impossible to say what would become of them.

234 778

There exists a marked connection between the buffalo and the chief material objects to which any form of religious service is paid; viz., certain ancient cattle-bells, which originally came from amnôr, and though only cattle-bells—konku—yet by virtue of a great antiquity are now venerated as Gods, and styled konku Dêr or mani Dêr.[1] This is the Toda faith.

Every village drove does not own a bell, but certain bell-

[1] Konku dêr = *bell-god*, mani dêr = *relic-god*. See Chapter XVII., note 6.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

CHAP. XXII.

pointing to an interesting stage in Turanian progress; that whence various ancient creeds have sprung and ramified.

The Toda religion has not the slightest sympathy with idolatry, nor does it pay attention to natural objects, as trees or rivers: to birds, beasts, or reptiles: nor to the elements. No offerings to a God, whether of flesh—human or animal—or fruit of the soil, are made: no human victims and no self-torture. It is not that they have risen above such prejudices; they seem to me rather, not to have attained the stage when religious observances commence. Circumcision is not performed. The memory of forefathers is piously regarded, but the feeling has not expanded through veneration into any form of hero-worship.

They believe in transmigration, but whether of soul or body probably few have formed very distinct ideas. The funeral service seems to favour the idea that the transition of the soul is the dogma which, though unexpressed, lies like an instinct in their minds: coupled with the idea that the soul is a living solid, a real duplicate Toda requiring food. But the whole scheme of their observances is so illogical, that it is impossible to deduce therefrom any clear definition of a creed.

Endeavour has been made in Chapters VIII. and IX. to convey, in brief terms, the reasons for my confidence, that sobriety, and general abstinence from exciting meat diet, are largely natural to this people. The practice certainly forms at present no part of their religious observance.

I would place the state of their belief in witchcraft and the work of demons and other unseen agencies, somewhat on a parallel with that of their knowledge of Divine work. Neither one nor the other, troubles them much. Perhaps I may best define the relative feeling, by saying, that they fear the former and hope most of the latter. Though they do, to a certain extent, practise demonolatry, they do not do so with the enthusiasm of other primitive races of South India. Indeed I had not one opportunity of witnessing feats of exorcism.

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

621 234 others. Each householder in the mand has his own cattle, which he can dispose of absolutely, and their milk is kept for his use; but the whole mand herd graze together, tended generally by the village *pûjâri* (priest), who milks them morning and evening in the monsoon months, and morning only at other times. The milk of all is kept in one dairy-house, which none may enter but the *pûjâri*.

421 428 592 Each family has a recognised head, in whose name the Government grazing *pattâ** is made out. On the death of the head the eldest son generally succeeds. One old Toda, however, when I asked him which of his sons would take his place, replied, "the wisest." (Compare *Menu*, Chap. IX., Sec. 117:—"Let the eldest have a double "share, and the next born a share and a half, *if they clearly surpass the rest in virtue "and learning.*" Sir W. Jones' translation of the *Institutes* shows that the saving clause of the above section is one of the numerous interpolations by which commentators have attempted to harmonise *Menu's* precepts with modern practice. It is curious to find the same qualification acknowledged by the Todas). The father's property is equally divided among all his sons, but the house goes to the youngest, upon whom falls the duty of supporting the females of the household.

181 177 651 461 The Todas are a purely pastoral people. They have large herds of buffaloes, and depend for support on their produce, with the addition of the *gûdu*,† which they levy in kind from Badagas and Kotas. Labour of any kind they hardly ever attempt; indeed so entirely incomprehensible is the notion to them, that when, on one occasion, an unlucky mistake about the ownership of some buffaloes committed an old Toda to jail, it was found impossible to induce him to work with the other convicts, and the authorities, unwilling to resort to harsh measures, were compelled to save appearances by making him an overseer.

313 Of late years one or two have taken contracts to fell wood,‡ but the result has not been satisfactory to the employers.

531 294 262 The women do a coarse kind of embroidery with blue and red thread procured from the low country, for ornament to some of their cloths. They use the Nîlagiri nettle for stitching their cloths, and English needles; formerly their needles were made by the Kotas. They also cook and fetch water, the men fetch firewood. Whether they live entirely on grain and milk seems doubtful. They admit that they at one time used to eat their male buffalo calves, but deny vehemently that they do so now, having apparently imbibed from their Hindu neighbours an idea that the practice is disgraceful. It is suspicious, however, that the skins of buffalo calves are found in their

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* *Pattâ*, commonly spelt *puttah* or *pottah*, is a document given by the Collector or Chief Revenue Officer of a district, however styled, to a landholder or other person having rights connected with the land, specifying the conditions on which the land is held, or the nature of the rights.

† *Gûdu*.—Name known among the Hill tribes for the annual gift of grain made by the cultivators to the Todas; said formerly to represent about $\frac{1}{10}$ or an $\frac{1}{8}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ of the gross produce. *Gûdu*, Canarese for *basket, nest.* The Badagas, after threshing in their fields, bring the grain to the *Kêri* (terrace in front of their houses), and measure it off by baskets before they store it in the granary beneath the *Kêri*. One basket or *Gûdu* out of so many is set apart for the Todas.

‡ See letter to Government appended to Preface. It was said that some Todas worked on plantations, but on further inquiry this was found to be a mistake.—*Editor.*

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

262 houses, and I am informed by an officer who has been for many years on the Hills, that he has frequently found them in the woods cooking meat, which they appeared anxious to hide.

595 Polyandry is on the decline amongst them, and its practice depends now chiefly on the means of individuals. It is considered desirable for each man to have his own wife if he can afford it, and some few men have two; but in poor families two or more younger brothers have still but one wife; in this case the brothers generally live in separate houses and take the wife in turn.

847 The practice of female infanticide has, I believe, entirely ceased. Indeed I can hardly induce any Toda to acknowledge that it ever existed. The disproportion, however, between the number of men and women supports Mr. Metz's assertion that it was practised within the last thirty years.

517 Their pastimes are not numerous. They are expert at a game called *Ilâta*, which is
526 played as follows:—

A cylindrical piece of wood pointed at both ends is placed against the corner of a stone; a slight tap from a stick sends it flying into the air; as it comes down the batsman hits it away to a great distance, and scouts are posted to catch it as it falls. In fact *Ilâta* is a variety of *tipoat*.

Another game is called *Nârthpimi* (*Plate* X.) Close to some mands a sort of stone table may be observed, consisting of two slabs stuck edgewise into the ground and another laid across them, leaving an opening just large enough for a man to drag himself through on his stomach. Two stones are fixed as starting posts, one at about thirty the other about sixty yards from the table. A man stands by each of these, and the nearer of the two runs to the table, and tries to wriggle under it, before the other, starting at the same time from the farther stone, can catch him. The rapidity with which they squeeze through the opening must be the result of long practice in crawling in and out of their house doors.

A third game, called *Kâridlapimi*, has some resemblance to puss in the corner.

Some of them, by way of a trial of strength, lift a large round stone (*Plate* X.), raising it first to the knee, and rolling it up the thigh and the chest on to the shoulder. The stone must be very heavy, for putting forth all my strength, I could not raise it more than two inches from the ground. The man I saw lifting it, was a fine athletic fellow, but he strained every nerve in the effort, and only one other man in the mand could do it at all.

For a list of Toda garments, ornaments, household utensils, &c., see Appendix B.[1]

291 Major King, in his article in the *Journal of Anthropology* of July 1870, describes the Toda dress as follows:—

"The garment* in which the Toda envelopes himself is of a thick, coarse, "cotton cloth of native manufacture, white when clean, and having a red stripe or

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* *Toda: Púthuli.*

1 [Category 116, pp. 117-123. — Analyst]

3: Breeks G-5 (no date) 1873 Toda

764 destruction, and of usefulness gone by for ever, contrasting pathetically with the hopes
765 of immortality implied by the previous elaborate provisions for the future welfare of the
174 dead. Such a recognition, however, implies a widely different religious life from that of the modern Toda. It is startling to contrast the respect for the dead to which this ritual testifies, with the utter indifference shown by the present race, not only to the disposal of the buffaloes, but even to the fate of old *Āzārams*. Numbers of these are to be found in different parts of the hills, but the Todas do not even always claim them as theirs; and in no case object to their being examined and destroyed. The sacrifice of the buffalo, the sprinkling of blood, the loosing of the calf,* and all the striking symbolism of their funeral rites, have no meaning for the present generation. Like the numerous gods who are never worshipped, and the preparatory penances of the priests who perform no priestly offices, these are but the strangely suggestive relics of a bygone faith.

411 The burning at funerals of a mimic bow and arrow together with the daily-used
173 implements of the deceased, and the importance assigned to the bow in the marriage
224 ceremony, seem to me inexplicable, except on the theory that the bow was once the chief weapon of the Todas, although they are ignorant of its use now.† This view is
262 in a measure confirmed by the Todas' admission that their ancestors ate samber flesh,
776 and that they would gladly do so now if they could obtain it; and by the fact that
782 they still recognise, and make offerings to, a hunting God under the name of Bêtikhân, who, though he now resides in a temple at Nambilicotê beyond Gudalūr, is, they say, the son of their ancestor Dirkish.

174 The question then arises: how and when did the bow fall into disuse with the Todas?
411 a disuse the more strange, because some of the jungle tribes near the base of the Nīlagiris are still expert archers.

224 The answer would seem to be found in the tradition mentioned by Colonel Ouchterlony, viz.—that before the Badagas and Kotas came to the Hills, the Todas lived only by their herds, and wore leaves. As far as the leaf dresses go, the story seems apocryphal. If the Todas had only adopted clothes after the arrival of the Badagas and Kotas, their garments would probably have Badaga or Kota names, whereas *pútkuli, tharp, kônu, &c.*, are among the few Toda words which Mr. Metz can trace to no Dravidian roots. Besides, a hunting race would certainly wear skins: however, the story probably contains some truth. Before the cultivating tribes settled in the Hills, the Todas, unless they killed their cattle, would have no means of obtaining solid food except by hunting, for their traffic with the Western Coast must have been too inter-

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* The idea of the Scapegoat, Egyptian I believe, as well as Jewish, has more than one Indian illustration. The Baigas, who exercise priestly offices among the Gonds, loose fowls occasionally on this principle, while among some of the tribes of the N.W. Provinces, an inanimate representative is chosen in the shape of a sieve or winnow which is beaten in every corner of the house and then thrown outside the village, to carry away the poverty of the people. (*Tribes of the N.W. Provinces, Sir H. Elliot.*)

† I do not overlook the fact that both Badagas and Kotas burn the bow at their funerals; but this I think is borrowed. That the Badagas do copy the Todas, is evident; for although they do not kill a cow, they go through the form of dragging one up to the funeral pile, seizing a diminutive country cow by the neck and horns, and pulling it along with a ludicrous imitation of the Todas' struggles with their powerful buffaloes.

The Badagas have also adopted the *Tôr* or funeral car of the Kotas, an innovation which astonishes the Gurus from Mysore who occasionally visit the Hills.

The Todas and Kotas have a good deal in common, of which I shall speak afterwards.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

research has disproved the formerly accepted theory that the languages of Southern India, viz., Telinga, Carnataca, Tamul, and Malayalim, were corrupt derivatives of Sanskrit, and it is believed that the few Sanskrit words which occur in the Toda tongue have merely been engrafted on it. 197

With reference to the Tamul, a partial similarity, or even identity, in the vocabulary of any language might arise simply from lengthened local proximity, and is only considered by philologists as of any value when it occurs in what are supposed to be the most ancient words; namely, those which pertain to every-day life, such as no nation, even its most primitive state, could be without, and which would be the least likely to be exchanged for foreign words. As to the resemblance in grammatical construction, which is said to consist in some plurals and in the terminations of certain verbs, an oral language so difficult of pronunciation will naturally demand a great amount of careful study and an intimate acquaintance, in order to determine with certainty the value of this affinity. Moreover, supposing it to be established, it appears to be a question whether the Tamul might not owe its root to the aboriginal Toda, instead of *vice versa*.

In mental constitution the Toda is intelligent and thoughtful; although naturally indolent, capable of being roused to considerable exertion on occasions of necessity; and, notwithstanding his singularly peaceful disposition, and total want of weapons, is inherently brave and bold. It has been said that he is too lazy to hunt the wild game, large or small, which abounds on every side; but it must be remembered that he does not eat flesh. Possessing no implements of agriculture, he consequently does not till the ground, but the grain which he uses is supplied by his vassals as a *quid pro quo*, in which respect he differs little from the wealthy classes in more civilised countries. The very use of grain at all by the Todas is probably an innovation of recent date. That physical courage is not wanting in an average Toda may be inferred from the bloody funeral customs which, as will be presently described, prevail in his country. His moral fearlessness of character, with its accompanying consciousness of power, are felt and acknowledged by all the other tribes, who involuntarily bow to an influence they can neither cope with nor emulate. His contempt of danger is also exhibited in his carrying no weapon of defence against the numerous cheetahs, black panthers, bears, wild dogs, and tigers

157 262 241 181

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 Ao60 Toda Aw60

181 which haunt the hills, although the latter, as I can testify, frequently attack and kill his buffaloes. During my sojourn out there, parties of Todas would often come many miles distance to give us information of these occurrences, both for the sake of the *enam*, or present, they got for so doing, as well as to obtain the assistance of a rifle or two, to rid them of their enemy. The practice on these occasions is to repair to the spot where the carcase of the partly-eaten buffalo has been left, and to lie in wait till dark for the tiger, which invariably returns at night to
147 feast on his prey. To show the activity and endurance of these men, I may mention that I have seen them at such times, after having walked ten or twelve miles in the heat of the sun, stand talking to one another till our horses were ready, and then, without any sort of refreshment or rest whatever, set out on their return with the greatest alacrity, keeping up with us the whole way.
136 The buffaloes in question are of the kind one sees in Egypt and on the plains of India, black-skinned, ungainly animals, sparsely sprinkled with long coarse bristles, and having wide-spreading flattened horns. The herds belonging to the Todas comprise, however, very much larger and finer animals than are to be found in the low country; they are, moreover, exceedingly savage when Europeans come near them. I have frequently been charged by a whole herd when on horseback, and obliged to take to a smart canter to avoid them. Nevertheless, one may see them any day
343 driven at will by little naked Toda urchins. Each *mund* has an
417 enclosure or pen called a *Tooel*, in which the buffaloes are con-
234 fined at night; it is generally circular in form, and consists of a low wall of loose stones surrounding a sunk area within. As these pens are never cleaned out, the interior becomes in time so much elevated, that the fence has to be heightened by the addition of thorns and cut branches. When the buffaloes come home at evening, the Todas who may be standing near invariably salute them with the greatest gravity and respect. Though they have numerous large herds of these animals, the Todas never kill them
778 for food, keeping them solely for the sake of their milk. There are a certain number of sacred buffaloes belonging to each of their *terrarees*, or holy places, and these are never milked, but with their young by their sides, lead a privileged life, the honour being
262 apparently hereditary. Milk is, it may be mentioned, the principal diet of these people, either in its natural state, or sour, like

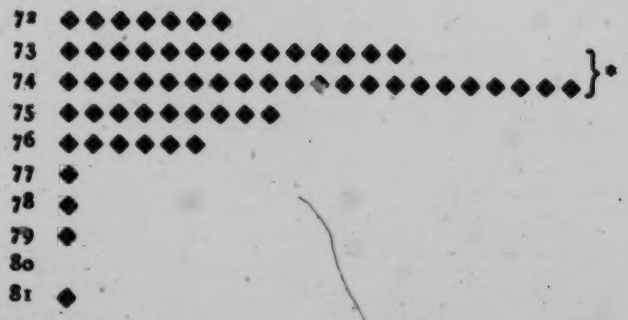
4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60

that used by the natives of South Africa. All vegetable food, except the wild fruits which they gather themselves, such as yellow blackberries, wild plums, the hill-gooseberry,* or cherry, as some call it, is obtained from the Vadacas, as already explained. This consists generally of green pulse, barley, millet, and other seeds, which it is the women's duty to winnow and grind, performing the latter operation between two roughly formed circular stones, the lower one fixed, and the upper revolving on it, similar to the ancient querns of Great Britain. It is singular that, though so attached to their buffaloes, the Todas keep no other domestic animal, not even the ubiquitous dog, the companion of man in every quarter of the globe from the polar regions to the equator. I never once saw or heard of a dog in any of their *munds*. This peculiarity, by the way, was specially remarked as a distinguishing trait in the history of the people of the European Drift period; and the dislike, and even abhorrence, evinced towards that animal by the ancient Jews is well known.

I should have mentioned that the Toda tribe is divided into two classes—the sacred, and what may be called for want of a better term the lay. The latter and more numerous class are called *Khootas*, whilst the former are known as the *Terrallees*. These appear to stand in regard to the rest of the community somewhat as did the Levites of old to the children of Israel, as it is from among them alone that the priests can be elected. No marriage can by Toda law take place between these two classes, though it is now sometimes evaded, and the breach winked at. Moreover, a priest, so long as he holds that office, cannot marry, and must keep aloof from all others, excepting those who, like himself, are invested with the sacred character. In order to qualify for this, however, he has to undergo certain initiatory ceremonies and trials, such as long fasting, sleeping in the forest, naked and alone, for several nights in succession; the danger from wild beasts, and the endurance of the chill night-air of these elevated regions, being deemed sufficiently severe tests of his fitness for the office. When fully appointed, the chief priests are distinguished by a different dress from their *confrères*. The subordinate priests, or coadjutors, whose native title, like the

* *Physalis edulis*, a plant about twelve to eighteen inches high, bearing bladder-like pods, enclosing a round yellow fruit, about the size of a common gooseberry, of a very agreeable subacid flavour.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60



141

A thing of exceeding joy to the Todas was my Salter's hand-dynamometer, the fame of which spread from mand to mand, and which was circulated among the crowd at funerals. Great was the disgust of the assembled males, on a certain day, when the record of hand-grip for the morning (73 lbs.) was carried off by a big-boned female, who became the unlovely heroine of the moment. The largest English feminine hand-grip, recorded in my laboratory note-book, is only 66 lbs. One Toda man, of fine physique, not satisfied with his grip of 98 lbs., went into training, and fed himself up for a few days. Thus prepared, he returned to accomplish 103 lbs., the result of more skilful manipulation of the machine rather than of a liberal dietary of butter-milk. 123 141

The routine Toda dietary is said to be made up of the following articles, to which must be added strong drinks purchased at the toddy shops :— 262

(*a*) Rice boiled in whey.

(*b*) Rice and jaggery (crude sugar) boiled in water.

(*c*) Broth or curry made of vegetables purchased in the bazar, wild vegetables and pot-herbs, which, together with ground orchids, the Todas may often be seen rooting up with a sharp-pointed digging-stick on [443]

* Average 73.

7: Thurston E-5 (no date) 1909
AW60 Toda AW60

262 the hill-sides. The Todas scornfully deny the use of
[832] aphrodisiacs, but both men and women admit that they take sâlep misri boiled in milk, to make them strong. Sâlep misri is made from the tubers (testicles de chiens) of various species of *Eulophia* and *Habenaria* belonging to the natural order Orchideæ.

252 The indigenous edible plants and pot-herbs include
262 the following:—

(1) *Cnicus Wallichii* (thistle).—The roots and flower-stalks are stripped of their bark, and made into soup or curry.

(2) *Girardinia heterophylla* (Nîlgiri nettle).—The tender leafy shoots of vigorously growing plants are gathered, crushed by beating with a stick to destroy the stinging hairs, and made into soup or curry. The fibre
[824] of this plant, which is cultivated near the mands, is used
[294] for stitching the putkuli, with steel needles purchased in
[178] the bazar in lieu of the more primitive form. In the
[943] preparation of the fibre, the bark is thrown into a pot of boiling water, to which ashes have been added. After a few hours' boiling, the bark is taken out and the fibre extracted.

(3) Tender shoots of bamboos eaten in the form of curry.

(4) *Alternanthera sessilis.*
Stellaria media.
Amarantus spinosus.
Amarantus polygonoides.
} Pot-herbs.

262 The following list of plants, of which the fruits are eaten by the Todas, has been brought together by Mr. K. Rangachari:—

Eugenia Arnottiana.—The dark purple juice of the
[302] fruit of this tree is used by Toda women for painting
[386] beauty spots on their faces.

7:Thurston E-5 (no date)1909
AW60 Toda AW60

262

Rubus ellipticus.
Rubus moluccanus. } Wild raspberry.
Rubus lasiocarpus.
Fragaria nilgerrensis, wild strawberry.
Elæagnus latifolia. Said by Dr. Mason to make excellent tarts and jellies.
Gaultheria fragrantissima.
Rhodomyrtus tomentosa, hill gooseberry.
Loranthus neelgherrensis.
Loranthus loniceroides. } Parasitic on trees.
Elæocarpus oblongus.
Elæocarpus Munronii.
Berberis aristata.
Berberis nepalensis. } Barberry.
Solanum nigrum.
Vaccinium Leschenaultii.
Vaccinium nilgherrense.
Toddalia aculeata.
Ceropegia pusilla.

To which may be added mushrooms.

A list containing the botanical and Toda names of trees, shrubs, etc., used by the Todas in their ordinary life, or in their ceremonial, is given by Dr. Rivers.*

Fire is, in these advanced days, obtained by the Todas in their dwelling huts for domestic purposes from matches. The men who came to be operated on with my measuring instruments had no hesitation in asking for a match, and lighting the cheroots which were distributed amongst them, before they left the Paikāra bungalow dining-room. Within the precincts of the dairy temple the use of matches is forbidden, and fire is kindled with the aid of two dry sticks of *Litsæa*

372 [178] [276] 234 372

* *Op. cit.*, Appendix IV, 758.

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

for short or longer periods has however been passed and with changed political conditions it is evident that the European population will suffer a decline. Well-to-do Indians have also felt the attractions, climatic or other, of the Nilgiri hill-stations: whether the climax of their migration has been reached it is difficult to say. The specific differences between the influences of Rivers' time and those of today are to be seen, not so much in the influence exerted on the hill cultures by the Europeans, as in the ever-increasing numbers of Indians from the plains, mostly low-caste Tamil and Kannada speakers who are agricultural laborers, but also Mohammedans from various areas, including Pashto-speaking money-lenders from the far north, as well as traders, especially Marwaris from the Bombay Presidency and Chettis from the Tamil area. 177

It will throw some light on the nature of Toda culture if an attempt is made to assess the effects of these various influences on the life of the Todas, insofar as there has been an effect. A general examination of changes that have taken place in Toda culture since Rivers' time will also be of value, both in itself and as providing evidence by which some of Rivers' hypotheses may be evaluated. The treatment may be divided into three major sections—economic life, social organization, and religion. At some points a comparison may usefully be made between the state of Toda culture at the present time and the state of the Kota and the Badaga cultures in the corresponding departments. 177 178

The economic life of the Todas is that department which has felt the impact of outside influences most strongly. The basis on which the economic life is founded is the herds of buffaloes. A great part of the diet of the tribe is made up of milk, buttermilk, and ghee. In this respect incidentally they offer a marked contrast to most of the south Indian communities, among whom cattle-products are too frequently neglected as a source of nourishing food. Besides this, the Todas require grain-food and of these rice and millet are the chief. In the days before the hills were opened up, grain was acquired from the Badagas chiefly, and the method, still followed, was for a Toda to go to the Badaga village with which his sib was connected and levy contributions, so much from each house. Rice seems to have been obtained 177 233 262 262 648 437

10: Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
AW60 Toda AW60

262 437 648 from the plains on the Tamilian side of the hills, either directly or through Kurumba middlemen. The details of these last transactions have been almost entirely forgotten through disuse. At the present time rice is obtained in the bazaars of Ootacamund and probably Kotagiri, chiefly from the Chettis, who also supply all the cloaks worn by the Todas and the waistcloths put on corpses at funerals, as well as many other articles. These articles are paid for chiefly with milk and ghee. While the milk of sacred buffaloes is too sacred to be thus profaned, the sanctity has been removed by the time it reaches the ghee-stage, and ghee may be sold, irrespective of its origin. The transactions with the Chettis are not allowed by them to be profitable to the Todas. If [426] a Toda has only a few buffaloes, he is always in debt. And even a Toda with a fair number of buffaloes will usually be in debt. This starts during the dry season when the buffaloes give little milk and ghee is scarce. The Chetti is usually asked for credit [459] and once this begins, the Toda can seldom free himself even if he suffers no accidental misfortune such as the death of a buffalo. The complicated transfers of buffaloes at ceremonies undoubtedly play a large part in the impoverishment of many Todas, as well as the slaughter of buffaloes at funerals, and certain ceremonies involving feasts complete the process. Under this system of traffic in the bazaar the Todas as a tribe are never free of debt. [57] When the Toda Amelioration Scheme was initiated some years [58] ago under the aegis of Government, it was considered that the first step to be taken was the paying off of the Todas' debts and this was done by Government. The Scheme was unsuccessful (see below) and the debts have grown again.

648 437 The Badagas, as has been said above, still continue their contributions to the Todas, while the Todas supply them with a small amount of produce and make various other small returns. The economic interchange between Kotas and Todas continues. This takes the form chiefly of a supply of tools and pots and the playing of music at funerals by the Kotas, and in return they acquire the carcasses and hides of the buffaloes slaughtered at funerals, a certain amount of ghee, and occasionally other articles. In both cases it seems probable that the Todas are the gainers in the total of transactions. The continuance of these interchanges

10:Emeneau L-5 (1935-1937) 1938
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will order the setting up in the munds of Hindu shrines. They now at times of misfortune order propitiation of the tribal gods or the making of vows to temples already established and well known to the Todas. The two outlets are probably sufficient for all Toda needs, though the Kotas, who had much the same two outlets, worship at their own temples and occasional making of vows to Hindu temples, seems to have found them insufficient in a time of stress.

A puzzling point in Toda religion is the calf-sacrifice (Rivers pp. 274-290). Rivers had difficulty in learning anything about it, and I have encountered equal difficulty. I finally succeeded in having a sham performance put on for me in great secrecy. The chief of the two performers said that he had never been present at a sacrifice of this kind, while the other had assisted at the sacrifice at one of the most sacred dairies, the ti :-dairies: the former man also asserted that the calf-sacrifice is extremely rare except at ti :-dairies. Other informants however have stated that it takes place frequently at the munds as well as at the ti :-dairies. My chief informant was probably concealing the truth. One reason why this was so was accidentally dropped by him, that the Todas are ashamed to have it known that they eat meat at this sacrifice. This type of purity as a mark of high caste, if it was not known to the Todas from the beginning of their occupation of the Nilgiris, has perhaps been preached to them by Hindu missionaries or may perhaps have become known to them quite casually from contact with plains Hindus. It seems unlikely however that this is all that is behind the secrecy surrounding the subject, but more information is not to be had. The same secrecy has undoubtedly falsified my records of the songs in several places. The sacrifice should be mentioned in several different contexts, as I discovered late in my field-work. Substitutions of innocuous phrases were made until one of my informants through familiarity became careless and used the proper phrase. I was able in later dictations to prompt the informants, to their slight surprise and discomfort, and to record both the reference to the sacrifice and the attempted substitution.

It will be seen from the preceding discussion that changes in Toda culture due to outside influences have been extremely slight. In religion no changes since Rivers' time are known

13: Peter E-5 (1939, 1949) 1963 AW60 Toda AW60

[Melgarsh Village]

the time of their wedding. In the unusual case of a man having no brothers and no nephews to whom the buffaloes devolve after his death, the herd will go to the *polm*. 425 428 [614]

I had put up a tent in this immediate vicinity of the Melgarsh *mad*, and was thus able, by staying in it up the twenty-four hours on certain occasions, to follow the everyday life of the family. 512 [123]

The habitual routine was really quite simple. The various members of Melgarsh would sleep in their respective houses as described above, and rise very early with the sun, which in southern India is already up at 4.30 a.m. Pads and Silidz would say their morning prayers (as all Todas do, see Rivers, *The Todas*, p. 31), attend to the calls of nature in the bushes close by, and then prepare the morning food. There was very little washing, the clothes which were taken off at night (under-clothes are worn then) being put on again. While Silidz was doing the cooking, Pads would go out and lend a hand with the buffaloes, which were taken out of the pen at this early hour and allowed to graze on the ground in front of the house. He was assisted in this by Munbokwutn, Pershrörsh, Narjilkh, Singarsh and sometimes Singud and Kuddhue. The latter, usually *tarvalikartmokh*, would then milk the buffaloes at 8 a.m. before they left with the boys, Munbokwutn and Singarsh, for higher grazing grounds, after the morning meal. Narjilkh would have let the calves out earlier and would have helped to retain them at Melgarsh away from their mothers. The gardeners (Pads, Mutnarsh, Pilkhlivowutn and Pufvkiaroz) once the meal was over would put on some dreadful rags, which were considered by them to be European clothes, and go off to their work in the Botanical Gardens. The women would stay at home and tidy up the houses, sweep them out, wash themselves (especially the younger ones), pound rice in the *kudi*, and cook the evening meal. [514] [296] [233] [234] [264] [291] [356] [515]

The meals are selected from the following foods: milk, buttermilk, butter, *ghee* (clarified *butter*), millet (an Indian cereal), rice, wheat flour in the form of unleavened bread or *gur*, (unrefined cane sugar), coffee, tea, chillis, bamboo shoots, fruits from the woods and honey. No meat is eaten, as Todas, like other Indians, are vegetarians. I obtained this list from Mutnarsh, and as he was very keen to give me all the information that he could, he even asked me, through the interpreter, if I wanted to see how he ate. He was willing, he said, to eat in front of me, then and there. I had some difficulty in dissuading him, and only succeeded by accepting to have rice with him another day, which I did. In caste-ridden India, this was rather exceptional, and I was glad to join 262 [115] 264 123

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese AX4
Toda AW60

carefully, because it provides an excellent example of how linguistic marriage categories systematic among themselves can be used in the organization of sexual and marital relations in a community. This has already been amply demonstrated for Ceylon. I shall argue that the Todas are in the same position. To put it quite directly, in these systems marriage and sexual relations are organized by linguistic kinship categories and not by any kind of exogamous lineages. Lineages and unilineal descent are secondary features and may or may not be found in conjunction with cross-cousin marriage rules.

In the remainder of this chapter I shall be concerned with an examination of the structural model constructed on the basis of Ceylonese evidence in certain South Indian contexts. I intend to demonstrate, first, that the same general structure applies in a large number of documented cases in South India irrespective of the patrilineal or matrilineal descent rules. Second, I shall attempt to demonstrate that special developments of unilineal descent have the same effect as in Ceylon—that is, they lead into hypergamy. In the limiting case, each unilineage turns into a ritual status group. Since the material, though abundant, is extremely uneven and at first sight quite confusing, I hope to further our understanding of these interesting structures. Let us now consider the Toda evidence.

THE TODAS

The Todas, though one of the classic tribes of anthropology, have been neglected in recent years. They inhabit the Nilgiri Hills, and from the first arrival of the Portuguese in the East Indies have excited curiosity and speculation. They inhabit a region populated by the Badaga (Cultivators), Kota (Funeral Musicians), and Kurumba (Sorcerers?). The largest section of the population is Badaga. The Toda numbered only 800 individuals at the time of Rivers' field work.

Rivers suggested that they were divided into two moieties; they could also be said to have two ritual groups: the Toda proper (*to:rdas*, see Emeneau) and the section of their priest, the *deus* (god) people (pronounced as *tevaliol*).[2]

They are pastoralists, and buffalo milk, apart from being very sacred, is one of the mainstays of their diet. All their lives and important institutions revolve around the buffalo. In their emergence myths they come out of a hole in the ground holding onto buffalo tails! The Todas are created with their buffaloes, and the buffaloes, like

[2] See also D. Mandelbaum (1938). Mandelbaum describes how among the Kotas the priests do not belong to a separate division but are treated in such a way as to be cut off from the rest of Kota society. The Todas appear to have carried the distinction one step further.